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Lexique Etymologique des termes les plus usuels du Breton Moderne. Par VICTOR HENRY. Rennes, Plihon et Hervé, 1900.

Victor Henry's *Lexique Etymologique du Breton Moderne* (published as fascicle III of the *Bibliothèque Bretonne Armoricaire*, Rennes, 1900) is a book that well deserves the attention of Celtic as well as of English scholars. The author gives us in concise form a clear view of what so far has been done by various scholars towards elucidating the etymological connections of the most usual terms of modern Breton and we seem to be safe in following his guidance, as he exercises great caution and generally puts the reader on his guard, whenever the connection would seem either not to be well established or altogether doubtful. I have noticed only a few instances where the apodictic statement of fact does not seem to be in accord with the author's usual prudence: Under *darn* 'piece' Henry confidently pronounces upon English 'darn = to mend stockings' as a loan from Welsh *darn* 'piece,' while Rhÿs (in Murray's NED) considers the idea as absolutely inadmissible. Under *ler* 'leather' we are told that the corresponding Germanic words, English 'leather' and German 'leder' are loans from Celtic, while Kluge tells us that the Celtic words are generally considered as loans from the Norse. Under *houarn* 'iron' we learn that Germanic *\*eisarn* (whence English *iron* and German *eisen*) is a direct loan from ancient Celtic, while Kluge admits this only for ON. *jarn* (from OIr. *iarn*). Under *gwalc'ha* 'to sate' Henry brings together Latin *volgus* with English *folk*, German *Volk*, while Kluge pronounces upon the connection as doubtful, it being very questionable whether the Germanic words are conformable to a base *\*quelgos*, *\*quolgos*, nor does the latter mention any connection between the Germanic words and OIr. *folc* (according to Henry, from Celtic *\*wolg-o*), which connection would seem possible only under the supposition that the former are loans from the latter. Under *houc'h* 'pig' Henry is confident that English *hog* is a loan from Welsh (Cornish) *hoch*, but the idea is rejected on phonetic grounds by Rhÿs in Murray's NED. Nor do I think that Germanists will take kindly to the proposition, advanced under *oaled* 'hearth' that OE. *æled* 'fire' is a loan from Celtic *\*āgileita*, or that OE. *swin* like Breton *souin* is from Lat. *suinus*. *Ludu* 'ashes' Henry brings together (though doubtingly) with German 'loder' to which he assigns the meaning of 'smouldering under the ashes.' I always thought the German word was rather expressive of a blazing up of the fire. As in the instances given the author seems to have deviated from his usual course of prudent caution, he also occasionally presents views now rather antiquated. So under *gwell* 'better' Greek *βούλομαι* is quoted as representative of the *√wel* with which it has nothing to do according to the opinion now prevalent. *Hirin*, W. *eirinen*, OIr. *airne* 'sloe' which

Henry brings from Celtic *\*arinio-* and compares with Skr. *arāni* 'wooden drill for producing fire' is now with Zimmer considered as cognate of Goth. *akran*, OE. *æcern* 'fruit.' Under *oad* 'age' Henry still brings OIr. *des* from Celtic *\*aiwestu* cognate with *aiF-ów* following a former suggestion of Stokes who now with Thurneysen posits a Celtic *\*ait-tu* cognate with *di-aurāothai* and Latin *utor* (from *\*oitor*). Under *skañt* 'scale of fish' we are rather surprised to see Henry consider English *skin* as sprung from a true OE. *scinn*, while it is a loan from OIcel. *skinn*. And, surely, the Celtic *skant-o* is not so isolated as Henry would have us believe. There can not be any doubt about OIcel. *skinn* being directly related to Breton *skañt*. In fact, the correspondence between them is, as Zupitza points out, as close as it can be (see Zupitza, *die germ. Gutturale*, p. 156) and there may be a connection with *kenn* 'skin' OIr. *ceinn*, OIcel. *hinna*, which connection is admitted by Henry himself under *kenn*. I wonder why under *koan* 'supper,' from Latin *cena*, Henry does not mention the Irish loan from the same source, *cene*; see O'Mulconry's Glossary 427; cf. also *cen* *ibid.* 217 (*cen mo mair. i. cen a cena, mair uita*) and Todd Lect. V 55 *cē leis ic a fur*. Under *klân* 'buttock' we miss reference to OIcel. *hlaun*, under *kavel* 'cradle' (from Low Lat. *cavellum*) to OE. *cawel* 'basket' from the same source. In regard to *aht* 'trench' = W. *nant* 'valley,' I wish to draw attention to C. G. L. V 339, 1 *anes uallis* = Corpus Glossary (ed. Hessels) A 570 which seems rather to stand for [n]an[ɛ]s *ualles* than *ancrae uallis* as Goetz would have it (Thes. Gloss. Emendat., p. 68a); also *antea uallis* (C. G. L. II-566, 30) seems rather to favor an *antes* than *ancrae* cf. *nante ualle* in the Endlicher Glossary. Under *talm*, OJr. *tailm* 'sling' W. *telm* 'snare' mention might have been made of cogn. OIcel. *þialme* (*þialfe*) 'snare' (Noreen *Altisl. Gr.* §196, note 2) with which is evidently connected the OE. *þelma* glossing *tendiculum* in the Aldhelm-gloss printed in Zts. f. d. A. vol. IX. Worthy of attention seems to me Henry's suggestion that English *crumpet* is a fashioning of Celtic *\*cramm-poeth*, whence W. *cramm-wyth*, Breton *crampoez* 'pasta cocta.' The word must have been taken over already in Anglo-Saxon times, for Ahd. Gl. II 325, 1 we read *placente fiunt ex farina et simila et melle uel ferro (=farre?)*. Saxonice *dicuntur cron pech (=cronpeth?)* with which Steinmeyer, l. l. compares *cronphetas (=cronpethas?) ex farina, simila, melle* in Cod. S. Galli 299, p. 280. Steinmeyer expresses, because of the latter passage, his disbelief in the genuineness of an Anglo-Saxon *cronpech* (*cronpeth?*), but granted that *cronphetas* is Latin, there is nothing to hinder us from supposing this Latin word to be a coinage from Celtic-English *crompeth*.

Of the greatest interest to the English student are, of course, the Breton loans from Old English and Modern English. So *puzé* 'bitch' is conjecturally traced back to a loan from OE. *bicce*.

*gôd* 'pocket' with W. *cod* 'sack' comes from OE. *codd*.

*kroumm* 'crooked' with W. *cwm*, Jr. *cromb* from OE. *crumb*.

*krubul* 'stomach' seems a derivative like W. *cromil* of a loan from OE. *cropp*.

*barged* 'buzzard' is conjectured to be a compound of *bar* 'branche' and *cud* a loan from OE. *cyta*.

*tell* 'tente' from OE. (*ge*)*teld*.

*falaouêta* (for *faoul-aêta*) 'to take birds from their nests' is derived from *faoul*, a loan from OE. *fugol*.

*ridel* 'sieve' from OE. *hriddel*, etc.

About forty Breton terms are thus traced back to OE. sources. Curious is the alleged OE. *scyfen*, 'of the same family as OE. *sceoppa* whence Engl. shop,' which on p. 241 is quoted as the original of Breton *skiber* 'wagon-shed.' What is meant is evidently OE. *scypen* 'stall.' Not among the loans from OE. appears Breton *kirin* 'pot à crème pour le beurre.' It is designated as a 'Scandinavian loan word' (from Olcel. *kirna* 'churn' whence also English *churn* is said to have been borrowed). But there is every likelihood that Breton *kirin* owes its origin rather to a well authenticated OE. *cirin* (*cyrin*; cf. WW. 280, 32') *sinum cyrin* with C. G. L. V 610, 32 *sinum uas in quo butirum conficitur*. Also Corpus Glossary (ed. Hessels) S 356 *sinnum cirm* may stand for *sinum cirin*. At any rate, English 'churn' is now commonly considered as native and appears as such in Murray's NED. I will conclude with a personal remark. In my article, 'Some Celtic Traces in the Glosses,' I had occasion to compare Ir. *cló* 'wind' with Breton *glao* 'rain,' but I see from Henry's book that such a comparison is out of the question, *glao* standing for \**gw-law* (Celtic *wo-law-o-*) from  $\sqrt{\text{Tow}}$  as in Greek  $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\omega$ , Lat. *lav-o*.

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<sup>1</sup> E. Zupitza, Die germ. Gutturale, p. 193, errs in quoting this gloss from WW. 290, 31 and giving *ceren* as form of the OE. interpretation. Hence it cannot be placed with Goth. *kas* 'vessel.' The mistake is due to Lye, as pointed out by Murray s. v. churn in the NED.